/278 cont./

[179] of game, and by the new facilities brought to farming by the iron
[18] tools distributed about ten years ago by the Service de Protection.
433 As agriculture has remained exclusively women's work, the activity
[442] of the men has become simply diminished, and the existence level
of the population has dropped. Thus, although the Service de Protection has given the natives appreciable advantages in comparison with the cultural poverty of the white or half-breed population of the interior, it has certainly diminished them in regard to their
[511] own culture. Be that as it may, the present system does not exclude economic differences. Within the body of collective obli-
241 gations, each enjoys a certain amount of freedom. It is the native
[422] chief of the village who gives the order to increase or limit the clearing of land, to sow rice or maize, or to plant manioc or tobacco. The female part of each family works one piece of land, and the land available in relation to the clearing carried out is great enough so that allotments are made without strife: the natives seem to have no boundary disputes. The cultivated plots are abandoned as soon as the land is exhausted and another piece of ground is chosen. An extreme diversity of resources exists.

736 Unmarried orphans, not being able to count on the work of a woman (mother, wife, or daughter), are deprived of all garden products and live on the charity of their comrades. It is the same
737 for the old people; after a hunt or successful fishing trip, they are brought a piece of meat or a few fish. But also sometimes they are forgotten. The indigent person is then reduced to going without a meal and all night long, alone, utters ritual lamentations. An
[587] old woman who shared our hut, neglected one day by her usual benefactors, for hours recalled the times when her five successive husbands assured her her daily bread, quite indifferent to our presents.

511 Beside them live the well fed, whether because their harvest
463 was particularly good, or because the family contains a high num-
595 ber of women (we found, among the chiefs, two examples of
412 bigamy),[2] or even because it is a question of indispensable specialists:

[2] [The author is evidently using the term "bigamy" in the sense of legitimate plural marriage rather than in the sense of irregular union, C.f. p. 117--Analyst]

/276 cont./

511 the Indian who furnished the tribe with square stone grindstones
463 used to polish hard woods and sharpen bone and iron tools was con-
595 sidered particularly /277/ competent, and the benefits of his work
412 relieved him of any farming.

634 One also finds the improvident. The chief of all the villages
66 of the Rio Vermelho, whose host we were at Kejara, for several
426 years had used his authority for personal profit. Numerous were the natives who, having cleared, planted, and harvested for him, thus had possession of veritable mortgages. From this improvidence
[22] /sic/ we had to obtain ritual objects considered precious. For
[439] Tuiawa, who alone was able to dispose of them, had found, in trading them, a means of obtaining clothing, ornaments, weapons, and tools, of which he kept nothing and which served to pay off all
[614] his debts. Since in truth his power was limited by the clan chiefs with whom he held endless conferences before each sale, our objects of exchange were undoubtedly used in large part for commissions and jugs of wine which produced agreement.

556 These differences in resources have a personal character. But skill in hunting or fishing and abundance of the products of the
[239] earth are secondary elements of good fortune. A more hereditary type of wealth is constituted by pendants of ounce teeth or pins of macaco teeth, or also the long belts made of small fragments of tucum nuts, armadillo scales, and shells, which no present, no matter how sumptuous, will induce a woman to part with and which are in fact the result of the labors and hunts of many generations.
556 One day we met a woman in festival costume who was wearing
123 a particularly fine pin on her neck (Pl. X, A, in background /see p. 48/). Confronted with a mountain of presents, she left without saying a word, and a few minutes later we saw her return without the precious jewel which she never wore again during our stay.
[152] After many efforts we were able to obtain another, less fine example, but as soon as the transaction became known, it provoked real fury among the feminine element in the village, which did not spare us
[428] any insults. These ornaments seem to be passed on from mother or grandmother to daughter or granddaughter by deed of gift.

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

232 **Feathers.**—The *Bororo* practiced tapirage; they plucked out part of the arara plumage, rubbed into the bare spots the sap of some species of tree, and thus produced yellow feathers.

285 323 415 [462] **Basketry and pottery.**—The women make baskets and plain pots. The water vessels, which sometimes have a neck, are characterized by

412 237 284 415 531 534

FIGURE 82.—Bororo manufactures. a, Gouge made of hafted rodent tooth; b, d, pottery vessels; c, bull-roarer. (Redrawn from Von den Steinen, 1894.)

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

441 (fig. 53, *g*, *h*), being loosely attached with rosin and cord. Bird arrows
824 have a blunt tip (fig. 53, *f*). The groove is chiseled with capybara
237 teeth, which are up to 3 inches (7.6 cm.) long. For releasing the arrow, the archer draws the string with his right middle and ring fingers while the index finger and thumb firmly hold the notch (pl. 86, *top*).
[532] The lower part of ceremonial arrows is decorated with feather pat-
[614] terns emblematic of clans (fig. 54); the Porcupine clansfolk, e. g., use a specific arrangement of blue and yellow. All arrows have two spirally twisted feathers, their tops and butt ends being tied on. Wrist-guards are manufactured out of human hair.

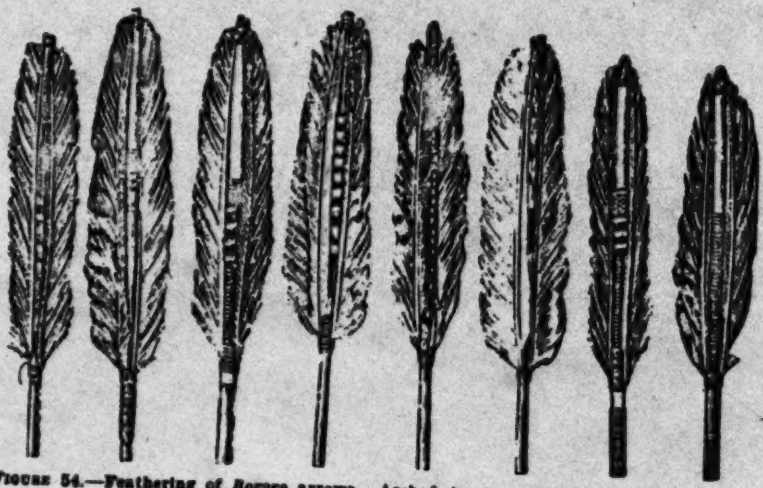

FIGURE 54.—Feathering of *Bororo* arrows. Shafts are decorated with feather tufts. Arched (eastern Brazilian) feathering type. (⅛ natural size.) (After Colbacchini.)

372 **Miscellaneous.**—Fire was formerly drilled with a composite shaft
824 of wild Canella and wild cinnamon (*Pseudocaryophyllus sericeus*)
237 wood. Bamboo splinters served to cut meat held in the mouth; the
412 scraper consisted of a capybara tooth mounted on a stick (fig. 52, *a*); and the *Bulimus* conch was used for a plane. Colbacchini (1925) notes that knives and planes are moved toward the body. Von den Steinen
[44] (1894) refers to grooved stone axes as things of the past, but they are pictured without comment by Colbacchini (1925).

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

616 The *Eastern Bororo* are divided into exogamous, matrilineal moieties, respectively linked with the north and the south side of the village. At Kejara these major divisions bear the untranslated names "Chera" and "Tugare," whose phonetic equivalents Colbacchini (1925) renders as "Weak" and "Strong." The moieties have reciprocal

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
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room, the town hall where most public functions occur, and the club where visitors are received and entertained. The baehytu of the Ta-Dare-Mano Paro village is about 50 by 30 feet and 18 or 20 feet in height. The ridge-pole rests on three tall posts, and shorter posts support the principals. To the rafters and to the wall posts are tied a few bamboo poles, and upon these are bound, rather sparingly, long palm branches with tongue-like leaves to keep out most of the rain, the wind, and sun. It is entered through an opening at each end, like a hole in a haystack, and within is always damp, gloomy, and foul smelling. The family huts, built of the same material, are mostly like a roof resting on the ground and strongly resemble an old haystack with a hole eaten in each end, though occasionally the hut is raised a little and woven palm-branch tongues form a basket-like wall. Deep gloom reigns within these huts. They are made dark that they may be free from flies, and are dens of rubbish and filth. Stuck into the roof are bows and bundles of arrows, war clubs, fishing gear, and instruments and ornaments not in use at the moment. The occupants of this human lair are sprawled on a palm-leaf rug, with a log of wood four inches in diameter for a pillow, and sleeping, or gnawing an ear of corn, a bit of fish or vegetable, or sitting tailor fashion, making beads, arrows, or other objects, or kneeling by the little fire preparing food. When the filth becomes unbearable or disease is prevalent, they do not trouble to clean house, but simply abandon and burn the old and build a new one on a clean spot. Usually the entire village moves to a new place some distance away.

Two families nearly always occupy one hut, and sometimes three or four, or even five. Each family has its camp-fire, which, however, is very small, since the gathering of firewood costs the women much labor. Just over the fire and about two feet above the ground is a small wooden rack where fish and meat and vegetables are roasted or baked. About five feet above the fire is a second and quite large rack, the family pantry, where perishable food is preserved by the smoke of the fire below. Each family or individual has its mattress or rug of long woven palm leaves, and each one a pillow made by binding a small roll of green banana stalks or a length of wood three or four inches thick.

A day or so after our arrival a child of seven or eight years belonging to one of the leading families died. This gave us an opportunity to witness a strange ceremony.

A loud, deep, prolonged hee-aw, ho-o, ah-ah, was bellowed by a quartette of naked, painted, and feathered savages, squatting

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
SP8 Bororo SP8

578 enjoy the sport. The fighters tumble, kick, and bite, and scratch with the poisonous spur or spine from the tail of a fish similar to the skate secured to their little fingers. Their endurance is marvelous and the fight may continue many hours, sometimes nearly all day, both parties constantly uttering their yells. The defeated party leaves the village, and the woman becomes the victor's prize.

241 412 The Bororó, like most other savage men, look to nature to furnish them with nearly all their food. About the only thing they cultivate is a little yellow corn, and even this with great difficulty, for they have no steel instruments. They are communistic, and therefore little inclined to attempt anything extensive in the way of agriculture or to provide a stock of food, for if one family should do this, it would only be to divide the harvest with the rest of the community and leave themselves with nothing for the morrow. There is thus no incentive for labor except when hunger drives them in 433 search of food. The Bororó is therefore acquainted with about everything edible in his environment, and he knows when and 226 where and how to obtain it. The river is by far his most important source of supply, and when fish are abundant in December, January, 222 and February he grows fat. The rest of the year he is obliged to look largely to the woods for food, though he is a more expert fisherman than hunter, and individual families wander abroad through bush and forest along the rivers. As to fruit and vegetables, the palm is his never failing friend. It will always provide him with something when naught else can be found. At every season of the year he may obtain the white cheese-like heart of a diminutive palm. The fibrous trunk of two or three other varieties, pounded and wrung out, gives a starchy, liquid-like milk which, when boiled in a clay pot and mixed with the yellow fruit of the burity, makes good soup; or he may dry the starch and make it into bread. Another palm, called burity by the Brazilians, yields a yellow fruit bigger than a very large plum, which he eats with a relish, though we considered it very insipid. Still another species furnishes an unfailing supply of nuts about the size of a goose egg. This he throws into the fire for a few minutes, then removes the thin outer shell, and scrapes off and eats a thin insipid substance very much like the inner bark of the slippery elm. He then splits open the remainder of the thick shell and obtains a white woody kernel, which he eats raw or pounds in a wooden mortar and makes into a loaf to be wrapped in a large leaf and baked into bread in the [283] ashes. This is considered quite a delicacy. The palm also furnishes material for his bows and for the shafts of his arrows. The

/471 cont./

141 toe: in the case of 17 men, II nine times, I seven times, I = II once; in the case of five women, II three times, I two times.

302 Dress. Eyelashes, eyebrows, beard hair, and body hair were plucked or shaved. The people are now beginning to leave the eyelashes of some children intact, which was a great advantage to them, according to our taste.

The head hair was treated in a very different manner, but equally arbitrarily by men and women alike. The tonsure which one would expect from the name "Coroados" is restricted to an occasional one of one centimeter in diameter. Perhaps the name comes from the large feather crowns. Widowers and widows wore their hair cut short. The most common and original style for both sexes was that the hair was combed to the forehead and cut off here straight across, but hung down freely in back; cf. Plate 26 /see p. 575/. Next to the ears occasionally another step was cut or a bunch tied together like a paint brush, sometimes the men's hair was twisted into a knot in back or /472/ a bast band was wound around the head. Women who proved amenable to Brazilian customs parted their hair in the center. One man or another also went about with loose, uncut hair parted in the

●412 center. Nowadays the hair was generally cut with scissors, between two shells by the old method. The comb consisted of pointed little rods which were tapered at both ends and joined together in the middle section by crude plaiting; the plaiting lay between two cross-strips tied together at the projecting ends.

291 The men, almost without exception, wear a hip cord. One or another, however, went about without it. The cuff, inobá (no, oaussu palm; ba, eggs, scrotum), called gravata by the Brazilians, has already been discussed and illustrated on page 184 (with the festive flag). One can very easily make a model from a strip of paper three centimeters wide and 14 centimeters long, by putting the two ends together to form a ring and then twisting one end about 90° and folding it slightly under the other. If a new or somewhat tighter cuff was put on, the praeputium was tied with a string in front of the glans and drawn through; by this manipulation and the wearing of the cuff, it was considerably

/486 cont./

461 worked so neatly and carefully that the masters of the catechesis should have been delighted. Even the idiot Dyapokuri was incessantly busy, though he would now and then regale the others with a little joke of a voluntary or involuntary nature.

On days when there was no hunting, there were about 40 men
252 happily at work in the baitó. Meanwhile the women would be cooking in the huts and now and then one of the men would disap-
264 pear to fetch food. As soon as he returned and became visible
[152] in the wall there were individual "hm hm" of appreciation, and scarcely had he drawn in his arm holding aloft the steaming dish, appearing last, when, with a general shrill ah! the whole com-
[262] pany would shout for joy. Large pot-bowls were filled with thick, sourish maize mush or maize gruel, and on top /487/ lay large river mussels to be scooped up with a spoon. Then Moguyokuri would stride about, place his strong hand on the thick skulls of a number of young or old, and the chosen ones would squat around the pot and resolutely dig /Figs. 139-140 appear here/ their shell spoons into the mush. Anyone comparing this patriarchal tableau with the scene of the Brazilian meat distribution (page 562) was bound to be filled with righteous indignation at that disgraceful business.

252 The idiot Dyapokuri roasted the beef that was snatched dur-
372 ing the "feeding of the animals." He fetched fire from one of
[177] the huts. Fire no longer had to be kindled by rubbing, because the administration furnished Swedish matches. The original method of the Bororó was the same as on the Kulisehu. Canella brava, Pseudocaryophyllus sericeus, was regarded as the best wood.

412 There was, of course, no longer anything to be seen of stone
[179] axes and cutting fish teeth; axes and knives were present in abundance. But all kinds of things from the old days were still
[237] to be observed. For instance, the Bororó, when they ate, cut off pieces of meat in front of their mouths with bamboo splinters; as a scraping chisel they used the capibara tooth, up to eight centimeters long, fastened to a small stick cf. Fig. 26 /see p. 205/ from the Schingú and, in the present connection, Fig. 139 /see p. 609/; they filed this tooth with the tooth of the paca

/487 cont./

412 237 (Coelogenys paca), a small rodent; they still planed, polished, and bored in good Indian fashion.

Their plane was a Bulimus shell, ruo, ten centimeters long, cf. Fig. 140 (and Fig. 27 /see p. 206/ from the Schingú), into which sharp-edged holes 322 were struck with an oaussú nut. Moreover, they polished wood, for example the whizzer sticks which were made for the burial ceremony, by rubbing it for a quarter of an hour with a wet, smooth stone. Or they took the rough leaves of the lischa and the imbauba tree. They sat with

Fig. 139. Capybara chisel. Bororó. (1/2 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

412 237 284 →

legs folded and crossed and cut and planed the objects on their foot as a support. On the outer part of the ankle resting on the floor I often felt callous thickenings and even movable pieces as hard as cartilage. 321 Monkey bones for chain ornaments were cut up on their foot, and I constantly feared for their own bones.

Boring was always done with a twirling motion. A nail was fastened to a stick half a meter long and this was twirled between

412 237 →

Fig. 140. Plane-shell. Bororó. (2/5 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

the two hands sliding rapidly up and down. In this way they bored through the small shell plates for their lip chains, which they made

/490 cont./

272 574 beverage which corresponds to the starch-paste or the pikí juice of the Kulisehu and is served to the guest. The maize mush to 262 241 which we were introduced in the ranchão is absent in the villages because there is no maize. The women prepare the vegetable 462 food. They also make the pots, of which there was only a small 323 number. There were two kinds, an open bowl, ruóbo, in which one cooked, and a póli with a short neck and narrow bottom, almost in the shape of the mortar, which was also used as a vessel, for the storing of water. They were very crude, superficially fired, not 412 glazed inside. The mortar, crudely carved, only about 40 centimeters tall, but easily transportable, had roughly the shape of an

415

Fig. 142. Waterpot and pot-bowl. Bororó. (1/8 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

412 egg from which one pole was cut straight off and, when used, was stuck in the ground. Besides nuts, they also pounded meat and bones in it.

262 When the women came home to Thereza Christina, they gave the men "carne de coco," nut meat, and were given what was left of the "carne de gado," beef. Salt and bacon were scorned. Although wild pig was their favorite food, they refused the meat of the domestic pig because the animal was raised by its owner. When a suckling pig was served to the officers, they ran out of the room. [515] They had no such scruples about sand fleas which they dug out for themselves (we watched an Indian woman as she performed the